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Wards and quarters of towns in South-West Arabia

On my first visit to Hadramawt in early 1947 I had the unusual experience of living in a very ancient Arabian town, Tarim, the spiritual capital of the Wadi. At this time Tarim was little affected by the outside world, though there were certain superficial influences on it from Malaya and Indonesia since the leading family and others had made their fortunes there, but this had hardly gone deeper than some elements in the decor of its lovely buildings, certain items of dress, and other trifles. Tarim was unknown apart from superficial descriptions of travellers and everything had to be explored—from its traditional Islam learning to the colloquial language, literature, customs, social order, etc. Tarim and other Hadrami cities had greatly influenced the course of Islamic civilisation in East Africa, the western coast of India, and Indonesia, but underneath the culture of this city of mediaeval Islamic learning there lay a sort of municipal organisation formed by other far less sophisticated strata of society than the Hadrami Saiyids who dominated it. This urban organisation represents, I believe, a stage of development of Islamic cities more primitive than that of the great centres of the Arab world, prior of course in both cases to westernisation. For example, at Cambridge we have been studying a series of 18th century documents on the organisation of the artisans of Algiers[1] which already show a much more developed community than that of Tarim, though it is still mediaeval in character. Even the urban artisan community of San'a[2], capital of the Yemen, representes a stage of development considerably beyond that of Tarim.

In 1947 and 1953 I was able to collect and copy a series of documents held by the quarters or wards of Tarim city which I had explained and commented upon to me there, and on my last visit to Hadramawt in late 1964 I was further able to collect data on the coastal town and port al-Shihr and discover how the same type of quarter organisation applies to a maritime town engaged in fishing and trading. Both Tarim and al-Shihr are walled towns but their dependence on agriculture and fishing respectively is reflected by the quite considerable areas of open land enclosed by their walls, for Tarim has fields among its houses, whereas al-Shihr has spaces given over to the drying of fish and beaching of sambooks and canoes. The quarter documents which I have are mainly concerned with disputes within or without the quarter, the settlement of which they record, but the very nature of these disputes reveals much of the everyday life of these communities. Many years of reading in Arabic literature[3] have produced for me evidence that inter-quarter disputes were common in the Islamic cities of the Middle East, but there is not much information about the quarters themselves, and this I think can be reconstructed by inference from the documents at my disposal.

To understand the nature and operation of the quarters in Hadramawt, and, *mutatis mutandis* in the Yemen, one must know something of the social stratification of Southern Arabia, a subject with which I have dealt at greater length in a lecture at the Sorbonne[4] some years ago.

To commence with the lower orders—the quarters of Tarim are inhabited by small shopkeepers, artisans, and workers in clay—builders, potters, cultivators, but the most important group perhaps is the *dallals* or brokers working on a commission basis, who are the intermediaries with the tribesfolk coming in from the country to buy and sell. Al-Shihr closely resembles Tarim except that, instead of cultivators, it has a large class of fishermen or seamen and its *dallals* are much concerned with fishing or port activities. All these classes are regarded by the arms-bearing tribesfolk as of inferior social standing to themselves. It is these lower orders and esclusively they who form the "Children of the Quarter *('Iyal al-Hatah)*.". Tarim is the capital of that celebrated religious aristocracy, the Saiyids of Hadramawt,[5] scholars, but frequently also they are the capitalists who

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finance the share-cropping agriculture of the country. An older religious aristocracy, the Mashayikh, is also represented by certain families. Though in the Yemen, Saiyids are armed fighting men like the tribes, in Hadramawt they are mostly not armed, and act as mediators in tribal disputes. Many Hadrami Saiyid families are also spiritual lords (*mansabs*) of sacred enclaves in which tribal law does not run and war may not be waged. In Tarim the Saiyids like the lower orders were groups protected by the tribes though they generally respected and sometimes feared them and the Mashayikh. I must emphasize the fact that tribesmen living in towns can do so for generations without losing their tribal fighting qualities unless they abandon arms for the despised occupations of petty trade, artisanship, and agricultural labour. Like the religious classes they do not seem to have had any part in the quarter organisation, though of course the quarters affected the daily lives of all the other groups. Society had a certain balance with tribal capacity to some extent limited by their fear of the Saiyids and their oppression of the lower orders by fear of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. In Tarim and other Hadrami cities, tribal factions headed by Sultans were in control, and a love-hate relationship existed between them and the Saiyids, both classes being economically reliant on the lower orders.

In the histories we find reference in mediaeval times to the Harat Al Ba Sharif, clearly a special quarter of the Saiyids,[6] to the fort Husn al-Ranad which occupies a pre-Islamic site, and to a quarter of washermen, dobies, where one supposes there would also have been dyers and indigo-beaters. Today the largest quarter is Hafat al-Suq, the Market Quarter, but there are Hafat al-Khilaif, Hafat al-Sahil, the latter a strip of land under the mountain overlooking Tarim, Hafat al-Nuwaidarah,[7] Hafat al-Hawi which is a sacred enclave or *hawtah* of the Haddad family of Saiyids, Hafat al-Rudaimah, Hafat 'Aidid, a suburb outside the walls, Hafat al-Mijaft, the old washermen's quarter, and Hafat al-Siddah, the quarter of the Gate. Only five of these are important, and some lesser quarters "follow", as they say, the bigger quarters. There were several of these sacred enclaves within the city of Tarim and the present day Hawtat Ba 'Alawi is probably the old Harat Al Ba Sharif, but apart from Hafat al-Hawi these enclaves appear to have become absorbed into the ordinary Quarter structure of the town. The Suq or Market Quarter seems to be mainly run by the brokers (*dallal*) who, apart from their general functions, are the tribesman's agent. The tribesman stays in the broker's house when he comes to town to sell his animals and buy cloth, dates, etc.

The brokers used to treat their goodwill in the tribesmen as a commercial asset, buying and selling among themselves the right to act for certain tribes—I have a number of documents to this effect. In some of the other quarters weavers used to predominate, but there were in Tarim also carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, tinsmiths, masons, and others. I propose to treat of these quarters in respect of their government, duties and offices held within them, their boundaries, religious ceremonial, and hunting.

Each quarter is run by its headmen or fathers—the *abwa|ubwa*, also called *muqaddams* or *aqils*. They conduct the affairs of the quarter and settle disputes between members of it. The weakness of the quarters lies in the fact that they are perpetually quarrelling with each-other, and the Hadrami press of the fifties and sixties has many notices on their differences during which persons were sometimes killed or maimed with sticks —the characteristic weapon of the quarters. The main cause of these disputes lay in the occasions when one quarter, in full ceremonial procession on some religious or secular ground, attempted to cross the boundaries of another quarter—this also seems in the literature of Arabic to have been a common cause of trouble. Such occasions would be when the quarter was going out to the Hunt—a very ancient ritual, as well as a sport, connected in ancient and present times with rain-making, on the pilgrimage to the pre-Islamic prophet Hud[8], and even in several recorded instances, at a funeral. The quarters had then to take their quarrel for settlement to a third party, sometimes to the Saiyids, but sometimes, as in a case in 1911, to the Sultan of the day, Mihsin b. Ghalib al-Kathiri. The penalty for infringing the quarter boundary was beating —the punishment executed by the *Abwa*, or Fathers. One can of course come and go freely in the ordinary way between one quarter and another as a private individual. Last century the town of Tarim was divided into three tribal fiefs under three Yafi i Sultans and at that time the normal procedure in a jugdement in a quarrel of the quarters or other groups was that witnesses should take an oath on a saint's tomb—though recourse was had to the *bish'ah*—trial by ordeal—the tongue being lightly flicked with a red-hot knife—and this in the highly orthodox city of Tarim—though I must suppose that the actual performance of the ordeal did not take place there. Of course the calling in of a third party to mediate always lays it open to that party to stir up mischief between contestants, which he can then turn to his own advantage.

Each craft sought to retain its own particular trade in its own family or families, and so much so is this engrained in the social structure that instead of asking for a mason in Tarim to come and work for you, could ask for Ba Sumbul—the family of masons in which the craft is hereditary, and again for the grave-diggers one would say

Ba Huraish[9] since their name is synonymous with the profession. Such families allowed no other to practice their trade if they were in the position to prevent it, and a craft, for example, like the carpenters has the exclusive right to hand goors. In Tarim you had to employ a carpenter from your own quarter—nor could you dismiss him and take on another carpenter unless you could show that he had defaulted in his work in some way. I heard that in some cases a family with a particular monopoly in a craft could take legal action against persons attempting to infringe it, though this must, I think, have been in customary rather than *shariah iaw*.

In the coastal town of al-Mukalla some trades were even able to impose a fixed fee for certain services. On my first arrival there I challenged the porterage bill as excessive—which it was— only to be visited by the headman of the porters who informed me that I had been charged at the rate standard for locals and foreigners alike—which it was in fact. In Tarim during the economic depression of the thirties the builders came out in strike when the Saiyids attempted to reduce their wage and succeeded not only in winning their point but furthermore managed to increase their rate of pay. Nevertheless I hardly think these trades and crafts can properly be called either guilds or trades-unions, though in the two coastal towns of al-Mukalla and al-Shihr they may be nearer to these types of organisation than in Tarim. It seems to me that they really represent a stage in the development of urban society anterior to the guild structure. The very paucity of references to any institution like a guild or trades-union in Abbasid literature—at the moment I can only remember Jahiz's headman of the sweepers[10]—may indicate that such organisation of the trades as there was resembled what we have in Hadramawt today.

In Hadramawt the artisan class in general is known as *baik* or weaver, a class despised widely in the Arab countries at all periods to the extent that this is even embodied in Islamic *Hadith* or Tradition[11]. Yet, though, from the quarter documents I have, the headmen of the quarters were drawn from various trades, it is clear that the workers in clay, i.e. fieldworkers, builders, potters, the latter sometimes itinerant workers in Hadramawt, were inferior in status to the other artisans and "followed" them.

The quarters in Hadramawt in general organised quite extensive social services and they manage the principal festive and social occasions of the year. I draw mainly on my experience of Tarim. There at least one of the quarters has a house at the Jami mosque, a *waqf*, where the dead are washed, containing basins for this purpose. It is maintained by certain dues collected in the *suq* by the headmen. The quarter pays for the burial of paupers. In Ghail Ba Wazir some years ago one quarter bearing the bier of one of its deceased, attempting to pass through another quarter, was stopped by it, and the bier neglected while they set to fighting. In January 1962 the Kathiri Sultan punished headmen of al-Hawtah quarter by beating for quarrelling over ceremonial at a funeral with another quarter.

At weddings however it is that the quarter appears at its best—it provides the necessary gear for the entertainment such as pots and pans. Men are detailed for the services of fetching firewood, drawing water, slaughtering sheep, and serving the food. At Ghail and doubtless most other places, the Shabwani dance is organised by the headmen for the wedding days, but disputes can arise even over the dance, for in Tarim in 1951, when two persons hailing from a different quarter participated in the Shabwani of al-Nuwaidarah quarter, this gave rise to a fight in which no less that six persons were hurt.

There is a clear-cut division in the duties of the Masakin—the petty shopmen and artisans on the one hand, and the Da'fa/Du'afa or workers in clay —mainly builders and cultivators. The Masakin act at the "mourning", taking turns at carrying the bier of the deceased, and in performing the services at weddings. It may be remarked that the person holding a wedding must invite some of the headmen as guests to ensure that the quarter services are available. The Da'fa on the other hand have functions of their own special to them, and are even distinguished by the dances they perform on ceremonial occasions—the razih dance being peculiar to the Da'fa. To them exclusively belongs the function of dealing with the clearing out (*umatil*) of wells when this is necessary. To have your well dealt with you approach the abu or headman of the Quarter who sends a man down the well to examine it and makes an estimate of what requires to be done. The *abu* then summons the *'Iyal al-Hatab* to do the work, and the well owner pays the *abu* who presumably divides the money out among the men. The Da'fa, immediately a call goes up of fire, flood or the collapse of a house wall, must turn out to deal with the situation and rescue any persons trapped—the nearest man to provide the tackle—buckets if it be a fire, mattocks and baskets for removing earth if a wall or bank has fallen. Again no person from another quarter may intervene to help even though he be closer at hand than the men of the quarter themselves. The technical term for this emergency in Hadramawt is *ghariq hariq wa-bait muhaddam*, i.e. drowing, burning, or house collapse and the amazing thing to my mind is that this phrase is exactly parallel to that quoted by Jahiz[12] some thousand years ago for Iraq—*al-harq wa—'l—Gharq wa-mail ustuwan*, fire, drowning, and falling of a pillar.

In Tarim Quarter dues are collected at "the scale"—*al-Quffan*, in the Suq Quarter which is

operated by the *dallals* or brokers. If for instance a load of fish comes in from the Mananli tribe the buyer and the Minhali each pay a percentage to the *dallal* who divides it out—part to the Dawlah, i.e. the Sultans,[13] part to the *dallal*, but there is a share also for the grave-digger, for the porter who carries the fish to house or shop of the purchaser, and a share is laid aside for the bastards. This brings to light a very curious old custom—near al-Qaffan is a little niche in the wall called *Taqat al-Farkh*, the Bastard's Niche, to which a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock will secretly take her baby and lay it down there. When found it is maintained by quarter charity. Another source of revenue was that the skin of every animal slaughtered in the Suq Quarter is paid to the quarter. In 1954, when I collected the bulk of this information, it was remarked to me that there was no money in the Suq Quarter now as the *muqaddams* or headmen had dishonestly "eaten" it all, but the quarters usually maintain a sort of reserve fund for emergencies.

Beside the dances arranged by the quarter—of men only of course, though the women dance in their houses, there are numerous other social occasions—in some parts of South Arabia there is even a sort of All Fools' Day! There are also many religious festivals. Some of these latter are of an antiquity which goes far back into pre-Islamic paganism. There is, to cite a case in point, the Cattlemen's Picnic when the owners of the plough-oxen go out dancing and weaving their long loose hair; they think this picnic is connected with the well-being of their beasts. There is the Hunt of the Ibex on which I recently published a monograph, and it is linked with rain-making and is characterised by a strict ritual of procedure. Ancient indeed also is the pilgrimage to the pre-Islamic prophet Hud who is mentioned in the Koran—I have written on this already and myself made the pilgrimage and later watched the quarters turn out in force to welcome the returning pilgrims. Each quarter has its own patron saint, that of the Suq Quarter being 'Umar al-Mihdar, and all the quarters have their own special cries very often mentioning the name of the saint, as, e.g. 'Umar al-Mihdar, in every matter we shout for assistance to him. And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring. One of these saints, of a Mashayikh family, is known as "He of the Ibex", but though there are Mashavikh saints in many places, most saints in Tarim are Saiyids. So life in a Hadrami town is full of turbulant incident, but it is full also of singing, dancing, and the composing of extempore verse, though in Tarim musical instruments are frowned upon by the ulema.

Tarim city is felt to have a personality of its own—just as did Mecca and its sacred enclave in ancient days, perhaps up to this time of ours. For example when there was an attempt to build an air-strip just outside it, some thirty years ago or more, the plan was abandoned, after a plane, crash it is said,—because as my old shaikh told me, the city or the pious ancestors, I cannot remember which, did not want an airfield. Tarim is perhaps to be identified with the city of 'Abdal (Servant of God) mentioned by the geographer Yaqut.[14] The town is full of saints—the dead in their tombs, and the living saints who inhabit Tarim though they may not be known to be saints. Hadramis returning from abroad follow the custom of first visiting the cemeteries and the pious ancestors interred there before even going to their families. Of these cementeries, within the walls there are three, each for a different social class, the Saiyid, the Mashayikh or non-Saiyid religious aristocracy, and the Masakin. There is even the mosque of a pre-Islamic Christian saint, St. Sergius.[15]

Al-Shihr is traditionally the port of Hadramawt and also a mooring place for the India trade-fleets of earlier times, with a long history before Islam, a centre of the fishing industry. It is also the port through which pilgrims passed to perform the pilgrimage to the pre-Islamic prophet Hud of Hadramawt. Nevertheless it is astonishingly little known. Al-Shihr lies along a sandy beach and shipping simply moors in the open roads before it. There are clay mounds along the shore which ought to be examined, but just as no excavations were made in Aden city because it was so easy of access under the British, so nobody has bothered even to cut a trial trench into these mounds. In 1948 I picked up mediaeval glass and Chinese and Persian glazed sherds. Behind the town is a low mountain with a path to the top and vestiges of what may have been some kind of shelter—this I think was a look-out post for reporting the arrival of shipping.

Al-Shihr is divided into two parts by a flood course normally dry, and at one time a large rock stood there and was the focus of local ceremonies on which I am unfortunately not informed since the Qu'aiti Government, considering these superstitious, blew it up.

The entire coast, including al-Shihr port itself, is called al-Mahjab—meaning "The Mooring Place". The town seems to consist of ten quarters —one of these called al-Qaryah, i.e. the village, seems to have been the original nucleus of the town and is to be accounted the oldest part—at one time it contained Suq al-Khan according to the historians, but this name seems not now to be known. The Majraf Quarter can only be so named from the *jarif net* basically a large cylindrical bag with a rope attached to each side; this net is drawn into the shore at the season when the sardine shoals, by two teams of men, sometimes with animals, and the bag emptied on the beach—so this name means something like "The place of the *Jarif*-Net Landing". This net is commonly used on the Hadrami coast and on the Batinah

coast of Oman. East of this lies al-Ramlah, The Sand, which can be used for drying nets or fish. These two quarters are wide open spaces with some houses, and numbers of what is called a *hawsh*, fish-curing premises with yards for drying and curing fish and tanks for storing fish-oils. Let me add that the whole coast is divided into separate stretches in each of which local customary maritime law is administered by fisher headmen who may have nothing to do with the town headmen, though they may become headmen in the town also—so a Shihri fisherman knows that the jurisdiction of his headmen runs between fixed eastern and western points on the coast. Some of the quarters have the title *Aql* as in 'Aql Ba 'Uwain, and I am informed that this means a place where Bedouins coming to the town hobbled their beasts—perhaps these quarters originally lay beyond the town, and today there is still al-Mahatt, outside the town to the north-east where there is a camel park. The larger quarters are divided into what is termed a *rub*, literally a quarter, but 'Aql Ba 'Uwain has six of these sub-divisons and the headman is called *muqaddam tamimah*, *tamimah* being a term not heard by me in areas west of this, but common in Oman. There is a quarter called al-Hawtah which would of course, at least at one time, have meant a sacred enclave, but I have no information about it.

Al-Shihr has a great many saints' tombs, and there are ceremonies connected with these of considerable interest. In one I chanced upon two women, one of whom seemed to be busy with the sword of a sword-fish. These swords one sees frequently in South Arabian shrines and I think I have also seen them in little shrines on the east African coast. I have heard though not altogether confirmed that women embrace the sword for fertility reasons. though I have many times enquired why these swords are kept in shrines I have never had a satisfactory answer other than what is perhaps a half-truth, that they are there as a sort of decoration. Hadramis are most reluctant to allude to such superstitions though they are well aware they exist.

Much more unusual however than ordinary enough fertility practices is the *Sawban*. When the sea is bad Shihris will go to the saint Bin Jawban, and, sitting on the ground just as they would in one of their dug-out canoes of Malabar workmanship, they go through the motions of sea-fishing—their *rubban* or captain standing up to cast the net they have brought with them just as if at sea. They sing a refrain:

Sawban sawban,
'Ubaid hannu luh, Henna they've splashed on 'Ubaid.
Sawban sawban,
We-qattatu rujulub, Patterns on his feet they've made.

As in all cases when a visitation is made to a saint the fishermen bring with them a gift for him. Al-Shihr has a number of markets such as the Shark Market, the Indian Market, the Date Market, and the Shibam Market, called after Shibam the commercial centre of the Wadi Hadramawt.

The headmen of the quarters manage the visitations to the saints, but these are less than in former days because they are expensive—the quarters engage singers for these occasions and have to contribute to the cost of them. They also have the same duties with regard to weddings and funerals as the headmen of Tarim, and for the former cooking pots and a sail are provided, the latter to be used as an awning over the street—I have also seen this in Mombasa in the Arab quarter there. At one time it seems that the Quarters of al-Shihr used to look after their poor, needy and orphans.

A survival of a custom—traces of which I think are still to be found in Arab countries—is the giving of nicknames to towns and villages—as perhaps Tunis (country) is called al-Khadra. Some of these names as in the case of Saiwun are merely descriptive—because it is a long straggling town it is called al-Tawilah, and I have heard camel-men using such phrases as, "We'll reach al-Tawilah in the afternoon." Tarim is called al-Ghanna' or al-Ghunna' a name also recorded in the literature on Hadramawt because it has so many singing birds—but other villages have mocking names reminiscent of the Wise Men of Gotham, and some nicknames have even sexual allusions. One Hadrami village which has no mountain hunting grounds of its own has the nickname, "They planted a (stone) rolling pin." This, it is explained, is so that it would grow into a mountain! An illustration of how strongly people feel about these names is to be found in the story told of Saiwun, which for some reason, has also the nickname, "*Jurr*", a word that should mean "drag" or "draw", the implication of which I never could discover—so perhaps it has some particularly improper sense. The tale is told of a preacher in Saiwun reciting the verse on Moses and Aaron which contains the sentence "*Wa-akhadha bi-ra'si akhini yaiurru-hus*," (Kor. VII, 149) who so disliked even this word reminiscent of the town's nickname that he substituted a synonym for *yajurru* of the sacred text!

From these remarks drawn from a large collection of data on the quarters made over some 25 years and which I hope to publish in detail some time, it will be seen that the townsfolk of Arabia have a rich and vigorous social organisation. Of this the British Residency in Hadramawt during the fifties seems to have been hardly aware, and in Tarim the setting up of a municipality which ignored the quarter organisation of the town had the adverse effect of weakening it and causing a certain social dislocation, for I think it upset the balance of power between the classes there. In

many ways the quarter behaves as if it were an Arab tribe, except that of course its members carry no weapon other than a stick, the arm characteristic of the Miskin though he may also carry a knife. The people of the quarters of Arab towns have left[16] little mark on Arabic literature, nor have the quarters as such left much impression on local architecture, for the important buildings are the mosques sponsored by the religious aristocracy and the castles of the tribal lords—very much as in mediaeval Europe, but theirs are the hands that have built them, and they are the human element that makes the pulsating life of the Arab suq so attractive to all.

[1]Ms. no. 1378 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Algiers. Cf. E. Fagnan, *Cat. général des mss. des bibliothèques publiques de France, Departements, Alger*, Paris, 1893.

[2]Cf. al-Qadi Husain b. Ahmad al-Sayāghi, Qanun san a *Majallat al-makhtutat al-'Arabiyah*, Cairo, 1964, c, I, 273-307.

[3]E.g. al-Maqdisi, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, B.G.A. III, Leiden, 1876, & 1906, 102 for disputes between artisan groups in Aden, Ibn al-Jawzi, *K. al-Muntazam*, Hyderabad, 1359 H. VII, 1494 passim. Cf. A.K.S. Lambton, *Islamic society in Persia*, London 1964, for rioting between different wards of a city etc..

[4]Société et gouvernement en Arabie du Sud, *Arabica*, Leiden, 1967, XIV, III, 284-97.

[5]Cf. my *Saiyids of Hadramawt*, London, 1957.

[6]Perhaps this is what is meant by Muh. al-Shilli, *al-Masbra al-rawi*, (Cairo, 1319 H.), I, 140. "What lies between these three mosques, I mean the Masjid Āl Bā 'Alawi, the Masjid al-Saqqaf, and the Masjid al-'Aidarūs, is called al-Hawtah, and it has never ceased to be respected, the Sultan and those below him respecting it, so that the price of land in it has become much and its streets narrow." The author also tells us that if anyone enters the 'Umar al-Mihdar Mosque as a *mustajir*, i.e. seeking protection, no one dares touch him, but they remain watching till he emerges.

[7]*Khilaif, sahil, nuwaidarab*, all are topographical names applied to land, so that they figure in other cities also sometimes as names of Quarters.

[8]Cf. my Hud and other south Arabian prophets, *Le Muséon*, Louvain, 1954, XVII, 121-79.

[9]See my Cemeteries of Tarim, *Le Muséon*, Louvain, 1949, LXII, I-II, 153-60, and in connection with this paper, Building and builders in Hadramawt, *Le Muséon*, 1949, XII, III-IV, 275-84, The Quarters of Tarim and their tansurahs, *Le Muséon*, 1950, LXIII, III-IV, 277-84. A poem by 'Askul my *Prose and Poetry from Hadramawt*, London, 1951, Ar. text 157 seq. contains names of families of artisans.

[10]*K. al-Hayawan*, ed. 'Abd al-Salam Harun, Cairo, 1938-45, III, 13.

[11]This theme is developed in the 10th/16th century author Ibn Tulun, *Daw' al-siraj fi-ma qila fi l-nassaj*, Chester Beatty Ms. 3317, an edition of which I have commenced. For "craftsmen and labourers of low status", see Muhammad Abdul Jabbar Begg, The social history of the labouring classes in 'Iraq under the 'Abbasids, Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1971, which has assembled a considerable deal of information on these classes relevant to the study of the Islamic town, and R. Brunschvig, Métiers vils en Islam, *Studia Islamica* Paris, 1962, XVI, 41-60.

[12]*K. al-Bukhala'*, edit. Taha al-Hajiri, (Cairo, 1948), 77.

[13]Market taxes were collected in former times by the *dallals* for the Sultans who protected the *suq*. The doubtless important issue of the *suq* at Medina in the time of the Prophet Muhammad has been examined insofar as the rather scant material allows by K.J. Kister, The market of the Prophet, *J1. of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden, 1965, VIII, III, 272-6. One of the accusations levelled against the Caliph 'Uthman was of introducing a tax on the Medina market, though the Prophet himself had laid down that no tax should be taken on it.

[14]F. Wüstenfeld, *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1866-71, III, 603, but one asks if this is perhaps 'Andal of Ibn Khurdadhbah, *al-Masālik wa, 'l-Mamalik*, edit. M.J. de Goeje, B.G.A., VI, Leiden, 1889, 143.

[15]Cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies*, London, 1959, XXII, III, 574-5.

[16]It is a pity that we have scarcely a scrap of information about the Quarters of Aden before the British captured it, though from the histories we know it had Quarters such as al-Hubush, and more recently al-Hunud and al-Yahud. The deep impress on Aden life made by the British is apparent in the term Hafat al-Rizmint (Regiment) for Aden Front Bay, though soldiers had long ceased to have barracks there.
I have lists of Quarters for some towns in the Yemen such as al-Shaharah, and information on the Quarters of Mogadiscio, the latter apparently organised in a rather similar fashion to those in Arabia